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United States Department of State
Bureau of Intelligence and Research

Intelligence Research Report

Chinese Leadership After the 13th Party Congress

IRR No. 139 - December 17, 1987

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(U) Chinese Leadership After the 13th Party Congress

Intelligence Research Report

No. 139
December 17, 1987

Key Judgments

(U) In November 1987, the 13th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party elected a new group of leaders who likely will guide the People's Republic of China into the next decade--and into the post-Deng era. The personnel changes at the congress extended the process of leadership rejuvenation that has been under way since the late 1970s in the Central Committee, the Politburo, and the party's other top organs.

(LOU) Almost all of China's highest decisionmaking positions are now filled by younger reformers and middle-of-the-road technocrats. The average age of the Politburo dropped by more than seven years as a result of the party congress, and the percentage of Politburo members with at least some college-level education increased from slightly more than half to almost three-fourths. Because rejuvenation had been largely accomplished within the Central Committee by 1985, the average age of Central Committee members dropped only marginally, to 55. Almost three-fourths of the members and alternates have a college-level educational background.

(LOU) The new members of China's Politburo have a broad range of experience in China's highest priority sectors: energy, transportation, urban planning, finance, agriculture,

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and high technology. Thirteen of the 18 Politburo members and alternates have extensive experience as top-level administrators in province-level units or central bureaucracies; seven have served in key slots at both levels. For the first time since before the death of Mao Zedong in 1976, four provinces have representatives on the Politburo. Moreover, for the first time in CCP history, the Politburo and the Secretariat contain no specialist in Marxist-Leninist dogma.

~~(LOU)~~ The number of members of the military on the Politburo is at a record low: only one career officer, along with the civilian Military Commission permanent vice chairman. Military representation within the Central Committee, however, increased slightly in percentage terms--from 16 percent to 18 percent--as a result of the reduction in the absolute size of the Central Committee. Military membership clearly reflects Deng Xiaoping's success in promoting a generation of younger professional officers.

~~(LOU)~~ Provincial officials accounted for almost 40 percent of the total membership of the Central Committee, about the same proportion as in the outgoing Central Committee. All 29 provincial-level party secretaries and 26 of 29 governors were elected members. In addition, representatives from 12 of the cities most involved in economic reforms were elected either full or alternate members.

~~(LOU)~~ The proportion of Central Committee seats taken by central government officials (31 percent) increased slightly over the last Committee. Almost all top government officials not obviously slated for retirement were elected to full or alternate membership, including all five Vice Premiers and the heads of 32 ministry-level agencies.

~~(LOU)~~ The vast majority of Central Committee positions can be considered "safe" seats; incumbents in a large number of top party, government, and military posts can expect almost automatic election. Expected retirements, overlap between holders of multiple positions, and the election of some of the more junior incumbents to alternate status resulted in the election of some 25-30 lower ranking officials or "token" representatives of educational, scientific, minority, or other special interest groups.

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The Politburo

(U) Age. Members of the new Politburo are, on average, much younger than their immediate predecessors (see Table 1, appended).^{1/} Among the 17 members and one alternate on the new Politburo, six are under 60 years of age, four are between 60 and 65, and only six are older than 70. Of the 24 full members and three alternates elected to the Politburo in 1982, only one was younger than 60, 15 were 70 or older, and four were older than 80. The average age of Politburo members and alternates dropped from 70.6 before the congress to 63.3 afterward, a decrease of 7.3 years, according to official Chinese statistics. The nine outgoing Politburo members averaged 78.7 years of age; the seven new members average 59.

(U) Education. Members of the new Politburo are also better educated than their predecessors. At least 13 of the 18 new members and alternates (72 percent) have some college-level education, although the experience of some was limited to makeshift "universities" at the party's war-time headquarters in Yanan or advanced political training in the Soviet Union before 1949. At least eight can claim fairly extensive regular post-secondary education. Among the members of the 1982 Politburo, only 13 of 27 (48 percent) seem to have had some college-level training and, of them, only a few had a regular college education. Of the 22 members and alternates of the outgoing Politburo, elected in 1985, 13 (55 percent) had some college background.

(U) Background. The membership of the new Politburo clearly reflects China's future needs and priorities. Of the 18 members, 13 have experience as central and/or provincial economic administrators. Seven have served in key slots at both central and provincial levels. Experience in China's highest priority sectors--e.g., energy, transportation, agriculture, high technology--is also widespread within the new Politburo: Two members have served as Minister of Electronics, two have long backgrounds in the electric power industry, two in urban planning and construction, one in transportation, and two in finance. Moreover, Vice Premiers Wan Li and Li Peng

^{1/} The attached tables include changes in the membership of the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission. Discussion of these changes, however, is not included.

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have experience supervising transportation; and Wan, Vice Premier Tian Jiyun, and Sichuan party chief Yang Rudai all have extensive experience in agriculture.

(U) Four of the seven new members of the Politburo--and one new member of the streamlined Secretariat--recently have led reform efforts in key provinces. The inclusion of provincial officials in the Politburo for the first time since Deng's return to power is both a resumption of the practice followed during the 1950s and an apparent effort better to represent China's increasingly diverse constituencies. It remains to be seen, however, whether most or all of the new "provincial" members of the Politburo eventually will be transferred to Beijing. Shanghai party secretary and Mayor Jiang Zeming, for example, is rumored to be in line to head a new super-ministerial commission in charge of electronics and other high-technology industries. Tianjin secretary and Mayor Li Ruihuan has been widely rumored as a candidate for Vice Premier, although his recent statements suggest he expects to remain in Tianjin.

(U) China's big east coast cities--where heavy industry-based economies have been stagnating for the past several years--gained several seats on the new Politburo. Shanghai's two top leaders--Jiang Zemin and recently relieved party secretary Rui Xingwen, who joined the Secretariat--were elected to top party positions, as was Li Ruihuan of Tianjin and Beijing's party secretary, Li Ximing. In addition, Politburo Standing Committee member Hu Qili, now in charge of propaganda and day-to-day party work, is a former mayor of Tianjin, and Wan Li served most of the 1950s and 1960s as vice mayor of Beijing.

(U) Interior provinces also have powerful representation in the new leadership, although in most cases by leaders at least once removed from their provincial experience. Yang Rudai, party chief in Sichuan, is the only new Politburo member currently holding a position in an interior province. But Song Ping spent almost a decade in the top party post in Gansu; Wan Li pioneered agricultural reforms as governor and first secretary in Anhui during the late 1970s; Tian Jiyun had long experience in Guizhou and Sichuan; and General Secretary Zhao Ziyang made his career as a provincial administrator in Guangdong and Sichuan. Former General Secretary Hu Yaobang, closely associated with the interests of the less-developed interior, also served briefly as Shaanxi party chief before the Cultural Revolution.

(C) Planners. At least three members of the new Politburo can be termed "economic conservatives." Acting Premier Li Peng and Vice Premier Yao Yilin--both of whom joined the

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Politburo's Standing Committee--and former State Planning Commission Chairman Song Ping are thought to favor a slower pace and narrower scope for reform and seem to envision a continued strong role for central planning. All three have strong ties to party elder Chen Yun, the dean of Chinese economic conservatism, and espouse his doctrine of maintaining the "four balances" between aggregate social supply and demand, revenue and expenditure, bank loans and repayments, and foreign exchange income and spending.

(TSU) Ideologues. Perhaps the most notable difference between the new Politburo and the outgoing one is the absence of a specialist in Marxist-Leninist dogma in the current leadership. Party ideologue Hu Qiaomu retired from the Politburo; his Secretariat counterpart Deng Liqun failed to win reelection to the Central Committee. The relatively liberal Hu Qili will oversee the propaganda, ideology, and culture sectors.

(U) Military. The military's representation on the Politburo has fallen to an all-time low. The only remaining professional officer is Gen. Qin Jiwei, commander of the Beijing Military Region. Yang Shangkun, the only octogenarian reelected to the Central Committee, was held over as a member of the Politburo and permanent vice chairman of the Military Commission.

(S) This reduction of military representation on the Politburo is a reflection of both the current emphasis on civilian economic priority and the success of Deng's decade-long campaign to return the Peoples Liberation Army to the barracks, reinforce the principle of civilian control, and make the PLA a more professional, less "political" institution. The military's role in political decisionmaking will remain limited. But the promotion of younger professional officers to top command and staff positions and the limited military background of the new civilian members of the Politburo likely will give military leaders considerable influence on issues of direct interest to the PLA.

The Standing Committee

(U) Only Zhao Ziyang remains from the previous Politburo Standing Committee. Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun, and President Li Xiannian have retired, and Hu Yaobang--ousted as General Secretary in January 1987--was demoted to regular membership. The average age of the five members of the new Standing Committee is 63.6, down from an average of 76.6 for their predecessors.

(S) The political balance on the new five-man Standing Committee is closer than on the full Politburo, with Zhao and

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Hu Qili believed to be the strongest supporters of fundamental, systemic reform, Li Peng and Yao Yilin more cautious, and Qiao Shi--in charge of security affairs--the swing vote. Qiao has a reputation as cautious, judicious, and fair, favorable to reform but sensitive to the hazards inherent in its implementation.

(U) The role of the Standing Committee has also been redefined. According to changes in the party constitution introduced at the congress, the Standing Committee will report more often to the full Politburo which, in turn, will become the principal locus of policymaking.

(b)(1) Moreover, the individual responsibilities of the members of the Standing Committee have been more explicitly defined than previously. Zhao will "grasp overall work," reportedly including overseeing Li Peng's performance as Premier and keeping a strong hand in the formulation and implementation of economic reform policy. Li Peng, as acting Premier, will handle State Council affairs. Qiao Shi is in charge of "political and legal" matters--a euphemism for security-related work. Hu Qili is in charge of propaganda and intraparty business, and Yao Yilin will oversee the economy.

(b)(1) The Secretariat

In effect, the Standing Committee has taken over from the Secretariat as the place where party and government affairs are coordinated and where macro-policy is honed before being turned over to specific bureaucracies for implementation. The size of the Secretariat has been dramatically reduced; it is now composed of four full members and one alternate--compared with 10 members before the congress. It will handle only the party's internal affairs, including personnel matters. Hu Yaobang was accused of using the Secretariat as a personal power base, usurping power by shifting decisionmaking authority from other organs into his bailiwick.

The Central Committee

(U) In an effort to streamline the Central Committee and make it a more meaningful decisionmaking body, the 13th party congress reduced its size from 210 members and 138 alternates to 175 full members and 110 alternates (see Table 2), and announced plans for it to meet more often than its current yearly schedule. Only about half (54 percent) of the members of the 12th Central Committee were reelected, but those 114 constitute 65 percent of the new, smaller body. In addition, 22 persons--16 percent of the old alternates--were promoted to full membership, and 39 new members (22 percent of the total) were added. (See Table 3.)

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(U) Fewer new members were added to the 13th Central Committee than to the 12th, elected in 1982, but about half of the holdovers from the 12th were added by the 1985 special representative conference. In all, only about one-third of the members elected in 1982 remain on the Central Committee.

(LOU) The procedures by which nominees are chosen for the Central Committee remain a mystery. According to a number of accounts, Zhao Ziyang, party elder Bo Yibo, and several other leaders were in charge of compiling a name list for examination by the top leadership at this summer's meetings at Beidaihe. Song Ping's Central Committee General Office, the repository of personnel dossiers for high-ranking party members, likely also was involved.

(LOU) Whatever the exact procedure, there appears to be a large number of relatively "safe" seats, official positions in the party, government, and military which are almost automatically assured a place in the Central Committee or, at the least, an alternate membership. Naturally, all candidates for the Politburo and the Secretariat are assured a Central Committee seat. At this congress, they total 21 persons. All 29 provincial party secretaries are certain to be elected--at this congress, three provincial secretaries were also elected to the Politburo--as are almost all provincial governors. Heads of such key central party offices as the general office, international liaison department, united front work department, and propaganda department all are almost automatically included in the Central Committee.

(LOU) Unless slated for retirement in the near future, incumbent Vice Premiers, State Councilors, State Commission chairmen, or Ministers presumably also are elected Central Committee members. The total number of such positions exceeds 50. In addition, top state officials and officers of the National People's Congress who are not on the retirement list can expect election to the Central Committee. Perhaps five or six such positions are involved. In the PLA, the head and principal deputy from the General Staff and from the Political and Logistics Departments; the commander and political commissar of the Air Force, Navy, and Second Artillery (strategic rocket forces); and the commanders and political commissars of the seven military regions and three Navy fleets all normally would receive seats on the Central Committee.

(LOU) Added together, these "safe" seats constitute the vast majority--if not the total--of the 175 Central Committee seats actually awarded. Expected retirements, some overlap between holders of offices, and the inclusion of some of the more junior occupants of these key positions as alternate

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members, however, result in a "surplus" of perhaps 25-30 seats which can be allocated to worthy lower ranking functionaries, officials slated for promotion to replace designated retirees, or "tokens" from cultural, academic, scientific, minority, municipal, or other special interest groups.

(U) Age. Because Deng's efforts to rejuvenate the Central Committee had achieved significant progress at the 12th party congress in 1982 and at the special conference of party representatives in 1985, average ages in the new Central Committee are not much lower than they were then, and members of the 13th congress will, on average, actually be slightly older than their predecessors when the 14th Central Committee is elected in 1992. The results of the new Central Committee election can be said to represent more a "deossification" of the leadership than a rejuvenation.

(U) According to official Chinese statistics, the average age of the 285 members and alternates is 55.2, down 3.9 years from the average age of those elected in 1982. Those under the age of 55 account for 132 members and alternates, or 46.3 percent of the total, a 19.5-percent increase over the previous Central Committee. Those 61 or older number 57, accounting for one-fifth of the total, reportedly a 29.1-percent decrease from the outgoing Central Committee.

(U) Full members of the Central Committee average about 58, a marginal reduction from the average age of 59.6 for their predecessors. An examination of the average ages of retirees, retainees, and newly promoted members, however, suggests a more significant generational shift. The 95 members who stepped down averaged 67.9 years of age, while the 114 retained members average 60.4. Newly added members, however, average 55.9. Only one octogenarian remains in the Central Committee (Yang Shangkun), and only nine members are between 70 and 79 years of age (see Table 4).

~~(LOU)~~ Education. Almost three-fourths of the members and alternates of the new Central Committee (209 of 285) have a college-level educational background, according to official statistics, representing an increase of 17.9 percent over the previous Central Committee. Fifty-seven of these are said to have advanced professional titles or degrees. Available data for full members suggests that at least 100, or almost 60 percent, have attended college and that about 25 (roughly 15 percent) almost certainly did not. Another 15-20 (or about 10 percent) likely received some post-secondary schooling. The educational backgrounds of the remainder are unknown. Overall, full members appear to be slightly older and slightly less likely to have attended college than alternates.

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(U) Composition. Representation of various sectors did not change significantly from the 12th to the 13th Central Committee, despite the reduction in the number of seats (see Table 5). Central party cadres retained about 10 percent of the full Central Committee membership; central government employees continue to hold just less than one-third of the seats; and provincial officials kept almost 40 percent of the slots. Military officers increased their percentage of full Central Committee memberships slightly over their 1985 allotment--from 16 percent to 17 percent--but hold notably less than the 22 percent of full memberships they occupied in 1982.

• (U) Provincial representation. Officials at or below the provincial level hold 114 of the 285 full and alternate memberships in the 13th Central Committee, or 40 percent of the total (see Table 6). All 29 provincial party secretaries--plus the party secretary of Hainan, expected to become a province in early 1988--were elected to full membership. Three governors--Wei Chunshu of Guangxi, Xie Feng of Hebei, and Song Ruixiang of Qinghai--were not elected as either full or alternate members. Two governors--Jia Zhijie of Gansu and He Zhiqiang of Yunnan--achieved only alternate status. The other 24 governors, including the mayors of the three provincial-level cities, were elected to full membership.

(U) Of the 116 members and alternates elected from the provincial level or below, 70 are primarily party cadres and 41 primarily government officials. Three hold both the top party and government position in their province. Twenty of the 116 are prefectural or municipal officials. Within this group are key officials from important centers for economic experimentation and testing of new reforms, including the party secretaries of Harbin, Shenyang, Xuzhou, and Changzhou, the mayor of Guangzhou, and a vice mayor of Chongqing.

• (LOU) Government representation. Almost all top government officials not obviously slated for retirement within the next year became either full or alternate members in the Central Committee. President Li Xiannian--who stepped down from the Central Committee as well as the Politburo and its Standing Committee--and Vice President Ulanhu--who retired from the Central Committee and Politburo in 1985--are both expected to be replaced at the March 1988 first session of the 7th National People's Congress. State Councilors Fang Yi, Gu Mu, Ji Pengfei, Kang Shien, Zhang Aiping, and Zhang Jingfu--all slated for retirement--were not elected to the Central Committee.

(U) Elected to full membership were the 32 of 44 ministry-level agency chiefs, including Li Tieying, who concurrently holds two ministry-level positions. Four ministers

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were elected to alternate status: the Ministers of Commerce, Liu Yi; Forestry, Gao Dezhan; Light Industry, Zeng Xianlin; and Public Health, Chen Minzhang. Eight minister-level government officials--most near or past retirement age--were not elected to either full or alternate membership. They are: Chairman of the State Economic Commission Lu Dong; Chairman of the State Family Planning Commission Wang Wei; and Ministers of Aero-nautics, Mo Wenxiang; Space, Li Xu'e; Justice, Zou Yu; National Defense, Zhang Aiping; Public Security, Wang Fang; and Urban and Rural Construction and Environmental Protection, Ye Rutang.

• (b)(1) Military representation. Fifty-two military officers were elected either full (29) or alternate (23) members of the new Central Committee. Of them, 19 are central-level cadres and 32 are officers at or below the regional, district, or group army level. The exact position of one is unknown. Three-fourths (39 of 52) of the military cadres on the Central Committee hold line or staff positions, while only 12 are political commissars or lower level political officers. Nineteen of 29 full members (66 percent) are commanders or staff officers, and only 10 (34 percent) are political cadres. The proportion of commanders and staff is far higher among alternates: 20 of 22 (91 percent) of those for whom positions are known.

(c) Five of the seven military region commanders were elected full members. The other two--You Taizhong of the Guangzhou Region and Xiang Shouzhi of the Nanjing Region--apparently are slated to retire soon. Younger commanders obviously are being groomed. Fully one-third of the group army commanders won either full membership (2) or alternate status (6) in the new Central Committee.

• (U) Other. Educational, scientific, and technical specialists received the majority of the 17 seats not otherwise classified. Women hold 10 of the 175 full memberships in the Central Committee--at 5.7 percent, the same proportion as in the previous committee--but no longer are represented in either the Politburo or the Secretariat. This is the first time since 1969 that no woman has held a Politburo seat. Ethnic minorities account for 16 of 175 full memberships (9.1 percent), a marginal increase in absolute numbers over the 14 minority representatives in the 12th Central Committee but a more significant increase over their 6.7-percent share of seats.

Prepared by Christopher M. Clarke
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647-2402

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Appendix Notes

(f) indicates a female.

R = returned.

P = promoted from alternate to full membership.

N = new.

D = demoted from full to alternate membership.

govt = central government cadre.

CCP = central party cadre.

prov/govt = government cadre at or below provincial level.

PLA = military official.

C = some college-level education, not necessarily a graduate.

P = probably has some college-level education.

N = known or strongly presumed not to have any college-level education.

MR = Military Region.

MD = Military District.

Table 1. THE CCP POLITBURO, November 1987

Standing Committee
(rank order)

Zhao Ziyang
Li Peng
Qiao Shi
Hu Qili
Yao Yilin

<u>Members</u> (stroke order)	<u>Status</u>	<u>Year</u> <u>of Birth</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Other Positions</u>
Hu Qili	R/P	1929	C	Standing Committee; Secretariat
Hu Yaobang	R	1915	C	none
Jiang Zemin	N	1926	C	Secretary and mayor, Shanghai
Li Peng	R/P	1928	C	Standing Committee; Acting Premier
Li Ruihuan	N	1935	C	Secretary and mayor, Tianjin
Li Tieying	N	1936	C	Chairman, Restructuring Commission; Minister, Electronics Industry
Li Ximing	N	1926	C	Secretary, Beijing
Qiao Shi	R/P	1924	N	Standing Committee; Secretariat; Vice Premier; Discipline Inspection Commission
Qin Jiwei	P	1914	N	Commander, Beijing Military Region
Song Ping	N	1917	N	Director, CCP Organization Department
Tian Jiyun	R	1929	N	Vice Premier
Wan Li	R	1916	C	State Councilor; Minister, Foreign Affairs
Wu Xueqian	R	1921	N	Secretary, Sichuan
Yang Ruidai	N	1924	C	Permanent Vice Chairman, Military Commission
Yang Shangkun	R	1907	C	Standing Committee; Vice Premier; Chairman, State Planning Commission
Yao Yilin	R/P	1917	N	Standing Committee; General Secretary; First Vice Chairman, Military Commission
Zhao Ziyang	R	1919		
<u>Alternate</u>				
Ding Guangen	N	1930	C	Minister, Railroads

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<u>Secretariat</u> (rank order)	<u>Status</u>	<u>Year of Birth</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Other Positions</u>
Hu Qili	see above			
Qiao Shi	see above			
Rui Xingwen	N	1926	C	none
Yan Mingfu	N	1931	P	Director, CCP United Front Work Department
<u>Alternate</u>				
Wen Jiaho	N	1942	P	Director, CCP General Office

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Table 2. 13th CENTRAL COMMITTEE, NOVEMBER 1987

A. 175 Full Members

Name	Status	Education	Category	Year of Birth	Positions
Ai Zhisheng	P	C	govt	1929	Minister, Radio, Television, and Cinema
Bai Lichen	N	P	prov/govt	1941	Chairman, Ningxia government
Bao Tong	N	C	govt	1932	Vice Chairman, Restructuring Commission
Bu He	R	C	govt	1926	Chairman, Inner Mongolia government
Cai Cheng	N	P	govt	1926?	Vice Minister, Justice
Chen Guangyi	R	C	prov/CCP	1933	Secretary, Fujian
Chen Hui guang	R	C	prov/CCP	1939	Secretary, Guangxi
Chen Junsheng	N	P	govt	1927	Secretary General, State Council
Chen Muhua (f)	R	C	govt	1920	President, People's Bank of China
Chen Xitong	R	C	govt	1930	Mayor, Beijing
Chen Yuying (f)	N	C	prov/CCP	1939?	Secretary, Changzhou
Cheng Weigao	N	P	prov/govt	1933?	Acting Governor, Henan
Chi Haotian	R	N	PLA	1929	Chief of <u>PLA</u> General Staff
Cho Nam Qi ¹ /	R	C	PLA	1926	Director, General Logistics Department
Cui Naifu	R	C	govt	1929	Minister, Civil Affairs
Ding Guangen	R	C	govt	1930	Minister of Railroads; Politburo
Ding Henggao	P	C	govt	1931	Minister, NDSTIC ²
Doje Cerling	N	?	prov/govt	1940?	Chairman, Xizang government
Dong Jichang	P	?	prov/govt	1933?	Secretary, Xian
Fang Weizhong	P	P	govt	1930?	Vice Chairman, State Planning Commission
Fu Quanyou	R	N	PLA	1932?	Commander, Chengdu MR
Gao D1	R	C	prov/CCP	1927	Secretary, Jilin
Gao Huanchang	N	P	PLA	1930	Commander, Xinjiang MD

1/ Cho Nam Qi aka Zhao Nanqi.

2/ NDSTIC is the National Defense Science, Technology, and Industry Commission. NDSTIC personnel have been counted in these tabulations as government cadres, although a good case could be made that they should be counted as military personnel.

3/ Li Dek Su aka Li Dethu.

4/ ACFTU is the All China Federation of Trade Unions.

5/ Qin Jiwei is expected to be appointed Minister of Defense.

Gu Jinchih Gu Xulian (f)	N R	?	prov/govt prov/govt	1934? 1936	Vice Governor, Sichuan Governor, Jiangsu
Guan Guangfu Guo Chaoren Guo Zhenqian Han Peixin Hao Jianxiu (f)	R N N R R	C P ?	prov/CCP govt prov/govt prov/CCP govt	1931 1929? 1933 1921 1935	Secretary, Hubei Deputy Director, Xinhua News Agency Governor, Hubei Secretary, Jiangsu Vice Chairman, State Planning Commission
He Dongchang He Jingzhi He Kang	R R R	C C C	govt CCP govt	1923 1924 1923	Vice Chairman, State Education Commission Deputy Director, CCP Propaganda Department Minister, Agriculture, Forestry, and Animal Husbandry
He Zhukang Hou Jie	R R	C N	prov/govt prov/govt	1932 1931	Governor, Jilin Governor, Heilongjiang
Hou Zongbin Hu Jintao Hu Ping Hu Qili Hu Yaobang	N R R R R	?	prov/govt prov/CCP govt CCP CCP	1929 1943 1930 1929 1915	Acting Governor, Shaanxi Secretary, Guizhou Vice Chairman, State Economic Commission Secretary; Politburo Standing Committee Politburo
Hua Guofeng Ismail Amat	R R	N N	CCP govt	1921 1934	N.A. Chairman, State Nationalities Affairs Commission
Jia Chunwang Jiang Chunyun Jiang Hongquan	R N P	C ?	govt prov/govt PLA	1938 1930 1932	Minister, State Security Acting Governor, Shandong Commander, Xizang MD
Jiang Minkuan Jiang Xinxiang Jiang Zemin Lang Dazhong Lei Ningqiu	R R R N N	C C C prov/CCP ?	prov/govt govt prov prov/CCP PLA	1930 1931 1926 1932? 1937?	Governor, Sichuan Minister, Nuclear Industry Secretary and Mayor, Shanghai Head, Dazhong-Tai Autonomous Zhou, Yunnan Political Commissar of a group army, Guangzhou MR
Li Changchun Li Dekang	P P	C ?	prov/CCP prov/CCP	1944 1932?	Governor, Liaoning Secretary, Yanbian Autonomous Prefecture, Jilin
Li Genshen Li Guixian Li Jijun	N R R	C C P	prov/CCP prov/CCP PLA	1931 1937 1934	Secretary, Harbin Secretary, Anhui Commander, 38th Army, Beijing MR

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Li Jilong	R	C	PLA	1929	Commander, Jinan MR
Li Ligong	R	?	prov/CCP	1925	Secretary, Shanxi
Li Menghua	R	?	govt	1922	Chairman, Physical Culture and Sports Commission
Li Peng	R	C	govt	1928	Vice Premier; Politburo Standing Committee
Li Qianyuan	N	P	PLA	1937?	Commander, 1st Army, Nanjing MR
Li Ruihuan	R	C	prov	1935	Mayor and Secretary, Tianjin; Politburo
Li Tieying	R	C	govt	1936	Chairman, Restructuring Commission; Minister, Electronics; Politburo
Li Ximing	R	C	prov/CCP	1926	Secretary, Beijing; Politburo
Li Xinliang	N	C	PLA	1936	Commander, Guangxi MD
Li Xuge	N	?	PLA	1927	Commander, 2nd Artillery
Li Zemin	N	?	prov/CCP	1929?	Secretary, Shenyang
Li Ziqi	R	?	prov/CCP	1922?	Secretary, Gansu
Liang Buting	R	C	prov/CCP	1922	Secretary, Shandong
Liang Dongcai	P	C	other	1932	Director, Academy of Sciences, Biophysics Institute
Liao Hui	R	C	govt	1941	Director, Overseas Chinese Affairs Office
Lin Liyun (f)	R	C	other	1933	President, Federation of Taiwan Compatriots
Lin Ruo	R	C	prov/CCP	1924	Secretary, Guangdong
Liu Anyuan	N	?	PLA	1932?	Deputy Political Commissar, Guangzhou MR
Liu Jingsong	R	C	PLA	1933	Commander, Shenyang MR
Liu Zhengwei	R	?	prov/CCP	1931	Deputy Secretary, Guizhou
Liu Zhenhua	R	N	PLA	1922?	Political Commissar, Shenyang MR
Lu Maozeng	P	C	prov/CCP	1929	Deputy Secretary, Shandong
Lu Peijian	R	C	govt	1928	State Auditor General
Lu Rongjing	N	P	prov/govt	1933	Acting Governor, Anhui
Luo Gan	P	C	other	1936	Vice President, ACFTU ⁴
Mao Zhiliyong	R	C	prov/CCP	1930	Secretary, Hunan
Ni Zhifu	R	N	other	1932	Chairman, ACFTU
Nie Bichu	N	?	prov/govt	1928	Vice Mayor, Tianjin
Nie Kuiju	P	C	PLA	1929	Commander, East Sea Fleet, PLA Navy
Peng Chong	R	N	govt	1915	Vice Chairman, National People's Congress
Pu Chaozhu	R	N	prov/CCP	1929	Secretary, Yunnan
Qi Yuanjing	P	C	govt	1929	Minister, Metallurgical Industry

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Qian Liren	R	C	CCP	1922	Editor in Chief, <u>People's Daily</u>
Qian Qichen	R	C	govt	1928	Vice Minister, Foreign Affairs
Qian Yongchang	R	C	govt	1933	Minister, Communications
Qian Zhengying (f) R	C	govt	1923	Minister, Water Resources and Electric Power	
Qiao Shi	R	C	CCP/govt	1924	Vice Premier; Chairman, Discipline Commission; Politburo; Standing Committee
Qin Jiwei	R	C	PLA	1914	Commander, Beijing MR ⁵ ; Politburo
Qin Zhongda	R	P	govt	1923	Minister, Chemical Industry
Quan Shuren	P	N	prov/CCP	1930	Secretary, Liaoning
Raidi	R	N	prov/govt	1931	Chairman, Xizang People's Political Conference
Ren Jianxin	N	C	govt	1925	Vice President, Supreme Court
Ruan Chongwu	R	C	govt	1933	Vice Chairman, Science and Technology Commission
Rui Xingwen	R	C	CCP	1926	Secretary
Seypidin Aze	R	C	govt	1916	Vice Chairman, National People's Congress
Shen Daren	N	?	prov/CCP	1932	Secretary, Ningxia
Shen Zulun	N	?	prov/govt	1939?	Vice Governor, Zhejiang
Shi Yuxiao	N	?	PLA	1932?	Deputy Political Commissar, Nanjing MR
Song Defu	P	?	CCP	1946	Secretary, Communist Youth League
Song Hanliang	P	C	prov/CCP	1934	Secretary, Xinjiang
Song Jian	R	C	govt	1931	Chairman, Science and Technology Commission
Song Ping	R	C	CCP	1917	Director, CCP Organization Department; Politburo
Sun Weiben	R	N	prov/CCP	1929	Secretary, Heilongjiang
Tian Jiyun	R	N	govt	1929	Vice Premier; Politburo
Tomur Dawamat	19R	N	prov/govt	1925	Chairman, Xinjiang government
Wan Li	R	C	govt	1916	Vice Premier; Politburo
Wan Shaofen (f)	R	C	prov/CCP	1931	Secretary, Jiangsu
Wang Bingqian	R	N	govt	1925	Minister, Finance
Wang Chaowen	R	N	prov/govt	1921	Governor, Guizhou
Wang Chengbin	N	P	PLA	1933?	Deputy Commander, Nanjing MR
Wang Hai	R	C	PLA	1926	Commander, PLA Air Force
Wang Hanbin	R	C	govt	1925	Secretary General, National People's Congress

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Wang Maolin	N	?	prov/CCP	1930	Secretary, Taiyuan
Wang Meng	R	C	govt	1934	Minister, Culture
Wang Qun	P	?	prov/CCP	1926	Secretary, Inner Mongolia
Wang Renzhi	R	?	CCF	1934	Director, CCP Propaganda Department
Wang Renzhong	R	C	govt	1917	Vice Chairman, National People's Congress
Wang Ruilin	N	?	CCP	1929	N.A. (former Deputy Director, CCP General Office)
Wang Senhao	R	C	prov/govt	1933	Governor, Shanxi
Wang Tao	R	C	govt	1932	Minister, Petroleum
Wang Zhaoguo	R	C	prov/govt	1940	Governor, Fujian
Wei Jianxing	R	C	govt	1931	Minister, Supervision
Wei Jinshan	R	?	PLA	1927	Deputy Political Commissar, PLA Navy
Wen Jiabo	N	C	CCP	1942	Director, CCP General Office; Secretariat alternate
Wu Guanzheng	P	C	prov/govt	1939	Governor, Jiangxi
Wu Jinghua	R	N	prov/CCP	1931	Secretary, Xizang
Wu Shaozu	R	C	govt	1939	Political Commissar, NDSTIC
Wu Weiran	R	C	other	1920	Honorary President, Beijing Hospital
Wu Wenyiing (f)	R	C	govt	1932	Minister, Textiles
Wu Xueqian	R	C	govt	1921	Minister, Foreign Affairs
Xie Fei	P	?	prov/CCP	1932	Secretary, Guangzhou
Xie Xide (f)	R	C	other	1920	President, Fudan University
Xing Chongzhi	R	C	prov/CCP	1927	Secretary, Hebei
Xiong Qingquan	R	P	prov/govt	1932	Governor, Hunan
Xu Huiyi	R	C	PLA	1932	Deputy Chief of Staff, PLA
Xu Shijie	N	?	prov/CCP	1920	Preparatory Committee for Hainan Province
Xue Ju	R	N	prov	1922	Secretary and Governor, Zhejiang
Yan Mingfu	N	C	CCP	1931	Director, United Front Work Department; Secretariat
Yang Baibing	N	N	PLA	1921	Director, PLA General Political Department
Yang Dezhong	R	C	CCP	1922	Deputy Director, CCP General Office
Yang Jingren	R	N	govt	1918	Vice Chairman, National People's Congress
Yang Rudai	R	N	prov/CCP	1924	Secretary, Sichuan; Politburo
Yang Shangkun	R	C	PLA	1907	Vice Chairman, Military Commission; Politburo

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Yang Taifang	R	C	govt	1927	Minister, Posts and Telecommunications
Yang Xizong	R	C	prov/CCP	1926	Secretary, Henan
Yang Zhengwu	R	?	prov/CCP	1932?	Member, Hunan CCP Committee
Yao Yilin	R	C	govt	1917	Vice Premier; Politburo Standing Committee
Ye Xuanping	R	C	prov/govt	1925	Governor, Guangdong
Yin Kesheng	R	C	prov/CCP	1932	Secretary, Qinghai
Yu Hong'en	R	C	govt	1928	Minister, Coal
Yu Yongbo	N	?	PLA	1932?	Director, Political Department, Nanjing MR
Yuan Weimin	P	P	govt	1939	Vice Chairman, Physical Culture and Sports Commission
Zhang Boxing	N	C	prov/CCP	1930	Secretary, Shaanxi
Zhang Guoying (F)	R	P	other	1937	Secretary, Women's Federation
Zhang Shou	R	C	govt	1930	Vice Chairman, State Planning Commission
Zhang Zhongxian	P	?	PLA	1926	Political Commissar, Guangzhou MR
Zhao Dongwan	P	C	govt	1926	Minister, Labor and Personnel
Zhao Fulin	N	?	prov/CCP	1929?	Secretary, Hubei Discipline Inspection Commission
Zhao Xianshun	R	C	PLA	1925	Commander, Lanzhou MR
Zhao Ziyang	R	N	CCP	1919	CCP General Secretary; Politburo Standing Committee
Zhao Zongnai	P	C	CCP	1928	Deputy Secretary, Party Committee for Central Organs
Zheng Tuobin	R	C	govt	1924	Minister, Foreign Trade and Economic Relations
Zhou Guangzhao	R	C	govt	1929	President, Chinese Academy of Sciences
Zhou Keyu	R	C	PLA	1929	Deputy Director, PLA General Political Department
Zhou Yibing	N	P	PLA	1931	Deputy Commander, Beijing MR
Zhu Guang	N	?	PLA	1920	Political Commissar, PLA Air Force
Zhu Guangya	R	C	govt	1913	Chairman, Science and Technology Committee, NDSTIC
Zhu Liang	N	?	CCP	1924	Director, CCP International Liaison Department
Zhu Xun	R	C	govt	1931	Minister, Geology and Minerals
Zou Jiahua	R	C	govt	1925	Chairman, Machine Building Industry Commission

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B. 110 Alternate Members

<u>Status</u>	<u>Category</u>	<u>Positions</u>
Bai Enpei	N	prov/CCP
Batubagen	R	prov/govt
Chen Bangzhu	N	prov/govt
Chen Mingyi	R	prov/govt
Chen Mingzhang	N	govt
Chen Shijun	N	PLA
Chen Suzhi (f)	R	prov/CCP
Chen Yujie (f)	N	prov/CCP
Chen Zhili (f)	N	prov/CCP
Danzim	R	prov/CCP
Deng Hongxun	N	prov/CCP
Ding Tingmo	R	prov/CCP
Dong Zhanlin	R	PLA
Fu Xishou	N	prov/CCP
Gaisang Doje	R	prov/CCP
Gao Dezhao	R	govt
Gao Zhenming	N	govt
Ge Hongsheng	N	prov/CCP
Gu Chuanxun	N	other
Gu Hui	N	PLA
Guo Shiyong	N	CCP
Han Xu	R	govt
He Daoquan	N	PLA
He Guangyuan	R	govt
He Guoqiang	R	prov/CCP
He Qizong	N	PLA
He Zhiqiang	N	prov/govt
Hu Xiaoyun	N	prov/CCP
Huang Ju	N	prov/govt
Janabil	R	prov/CCP

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Jia Zhijie	N	prov/govt	Governor, Gansu
Jiang Xiesheng	R	govt	Vice Minister, Aviation Industry
Jin Jian	R	prov/CCP	Chairman, Beijing Youth Federation; Deputy Secretary, Beijing
Keyum Bawudun	R	other	President, All-China Youth Federation
Li Huifen (f)	R	prov/CCP	Member, Tianjin CCP Standing Committee
Li Lanqing	N	govt	Vice Minister, Foreign Economic Relations and Trade
Li Ming	D	govt	Vice Minister, Metallurgy (?)
Li Senmao	D	govt	Vice Minister, Railroads
Li Shoushan	R	prov/CCP	Secretary, Urumqi
Li Shuzheng (f)	R	CCP	Deputy Director, CCP International Liaison Department
Li Zhenqiao	N	prov/CCP	Deputy Secretary, Guangxi
Liang Guanglie	N	PLA	Commander, unidentified group army
Liao Wenhai (f)	N	PLA	Deputy Director, PLA General Hospital
Lin Yincai	R	govt	Vice Minister, Chemical Industry
Liu Fangren	N	prov/CCP	Deputy Secretary, Jiangxi
Liu Guofan	R	prov/CCP	Deputy Secretary, Ningxia
Liu Guoguang	R	govt	Economist, Academy of Social Sciences
Liu Hongru	R	govt	Vice President, People's Bank of China
Liu Ronghui	R	prov/CCP	Director, Hebei CCP Organization Department
Liu Yi	R	govt	Minister, Commerce
Liu Yujie (f)	R	prov/govt	Vice Governor, Henan
Lu Gongxun	R	prov/CCP	Director, Shanxi CCP Organization Department
Lu Yongxiang	R	other	Vice President, Zhejiang University
Luan Enjie	N	other	Deputy Director, Beijing Institute of Control and Electronic Technology
Luo Shangcai	R	prov/govt	Vice Governor, Guizhou
Ma Sizhong	R	prov/govt	Vice Governor, Ningxia
Ma Yuhai	N	govt	Adviser, Ministry of Forestry
Ma Zhongchen	R	govt	Vice Governor, Shandong
Peng Gongge	N	PLA	Commander, 7th Air Force, Nanning
Qi Huaiyuan	N	govt	Spokesman, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

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Qian Guoliang	N	PLA	Commander, 27th Army, Beijing MR
Qian Shaojun	N	PLA	Unidentified Position, NDSTIC
Qian Shugen	N	PLA	Commander 47th Army, Lanzhou MR
Qiao Zonghuai	R	govt	Deputy Director, Xinhua, Hong Kong
Ren Tie.	N	prov/govt	Director, Labor and Personnel Office, Inner Mongolia ^a
Sha Jiansun	N	other	Vice President, Beijing University
Shi Dazhen	N	govt	Vice Minister, Water Resources and Electric Power
Song Keda	N	PLA	Deputy Political Commissar, Shenyang MR
Sun Jiazheng	R	prov/CCP	Secretary, Xuzhou
Sun Qi	N	prov/CCP	Deputy Secretary, Liaoning
Sun Tongchuan	R	prov/govt	Vice Mayor, Chongqing
Sun Wensheng	R	prov/CCP	Director, Hunan CCP Organization Department
Wang Jiali (f)	R	prov/CCP	Member, Beijing CCP Standing Committee
Wang Luolin	N	other	Vice President, Xiamen University
Wang Xuezhen	R	other	Secretary, Beijing University CCP Committee
Wang Yuefeng	R	prov/govt	Director, Hainan Commissioner's Office
Wang Zhiwu	N	other	Chief Geologist, Daqing Oil Field
Wang Zhongyu	N	prov/CCP	Deputy Secretary, Jilin
Wu Bangguo	R	prov/CCP	Deputy Secretary, Shanghai
Wu Yi (f)	N	prov/govt	Vice Mayor, Hefei
Xing Zhikang	R	other	Chairman, Shanghai Women's Federation
Xu Shiqun	R	prov/govt	Director, Sichuan Foreign Affairs Office
Yang Guoliang	R	PLA	Deputy Commander, 2nd Artillery Corps
Yang Yongliang	R	prov/CCP	Secretary, Hefei
Ye Liansong	N	prov/govt	Vice Governor, Hebei
Yin Changmin (f)	D	prov/govt	Vice Chairman, Hunan People's Political Conference
Yin Jun	R	prov/CCP	Chairman, Yunnan CCP Discipline Inspection Commission
Yu Zhenwu	R	PLA	Deputy Commander, PLA Air Force
Yuan Jun	R	PLA	Commandant, Army Command Academy
Zeng Qingcun	N	govt	Director, Atmospheric Physics Institute, Chinese Academy of Sciences

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Zeng Xianlin	N	govt	Minister, Light Industry
Zhang Lianzhong	N	PLA	Deputy Commander, PLA Navy
Zhang Lichang	R	prov/govt	Vice Mayor, Tianjin
Zhang Siqing	N	govt	Deputy Procurator General
Zhang Wannian	R	PLA	Commander, Guangzhou MR
Zhang Wanxin	R	other	Deputy General Manager, National Petrochemical Company
Zhang Yanzhong	N	govt	Vice Chief Engineer, Ministry of Aviation
Zhao Bingyao	N	PLA	Deputy Political Commissar Air Force, Beijing MR
Zhao Di (f)	R	prov/CCP	Deputy Secretary, Henan
Zhao Guochen	N	PLA	Commander in PLA Navy
Zhao Yannian	N	govt	Vice Chairman, Nationalities Affairs Commission
Zheng Hua	R	govt	Deputy Director, Xinhua, Hong Kong
Zhou Shaoxun	N	PLA	Navy
Zhou Wenyuan	N	PLA	Deputy Director, PLA General Logistics Department
Zhou Yushu	N	PLA	Commander, unidentified group army
Zhu Kaixuan	N	govt	Vice Chairman, State Education Commission
Zhu Rongji	N	govt	Vice Chairman, State Economic Commission
Zhu Senlin	N	govt	Mayor, Guangzhou
Zong Shunliu	N	PLA	Deputy Director, PLA General Logistics Department
Zou Jingmeng	R	govt	Director, State Meteorological Bureau

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An Pingsheng
Bai Jinan
Basang
Chen Bin
Chen Fuhua
Chen Lie
Chen Pixian
Chen Puru
Chen Renhong
Chen Yun
Chi Biqing
Cui Yueh
Dai Suli
Deng Liqun
Deng Xiaoping
Fang Yi
Fu Kuiqing
Gao Yangwen
Gu Mu
He Jinheng
Hu Hong
Hu Qiaomu
Hu Sheng
Huang Huang
Huang Zhizhen
Jiang Yonghui
Jiao Linyi
Kang Shien
Li Chang'an
Li Dongye
Li Li'an

Li Ming
Li Senmao
Li Xianjian
Li Xipu
Li Xu'e
Li Xuezhi
Li Yaowen
Liu Lin
Luo Qingchang
Ma Xingyuan
Mo Wenxiang
Mu Qing
Peng Zhen
Qiang Xiaochu
Qin Chuan
Rao Xingli
Shen Yinluo
Su Gang
Su Yiran
Tang Ke
Wan Da
Wan Haifeng
Wang Chenghan
Wang Chonglun
Wang Fang
Wang Guangyu
Wang Guangzhong
Wang Kewen
Wang Meng
Wang Quanguo
Wu Quanqing

Xi Zhongxun
Xiang Nan
Xiang Shouzhi
Xing Yanzl (f)
Xu Shaofu
Yan Dongsheng
Yang Bo
Yang Chengwu
Yang Dezhil
Yang Di
Yao Guang
Ye Fei
Yin Changmin
Yin Fatang
Yin Yuan
You Taizhong
Yu Mingtao
Yu Qiuli
Zhang Jingfu
Zhang Shuguang
Zhang Zaiwang
Zhang Ze
Zhao Haifeng
Zhao Xingyuan
Zhao Zhijian
Zhou Hui
Zhou Jiannan
Zhou Shizhong
Zhu Houze
Zhu Yungian

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Table 3. STATUS OF FULL AND ALTERNATE MEMBERS OF THE 13th CENTRAL COMMITTEE

<u>Status</u>	<u>Full</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Alternate</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>
Returned	114	65.1	51	46.4	165	57.9
Promoted	22	12.6	0	0	22	7.7
Demoted	0	0	3	2.7	3	1.1
New	<u>39</u>	<u>22.3</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>50.9</u>	<u>95</u>	<u>33.3</u>
TOTAL	175	100.0	110	100.0	285	100.0

Table 4. CCP 13th CENTRAL COMMITTEE FULL MEMBERS BY AGE

<u>Age</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Over 80	1	0.6
70-79	9	5.1
60-69	53	30.3
50-59	97	55.4
Under 50	15	8.6

Table 5. CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE FULL MEMBERS BY AFFILIATION
12th and 13th Central Committees

<u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Before 1985</u>		<u>After 1985</u>		<u>After 13th Congress (1987)</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Party	25	12	22	10	17	10
Government	56	27	57	27	55	31
Provincial	75	36	85	40	67	38
Military	46	22	33	16	29	17
Other or na	8	4	13	6	7	4

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Table 6. CATEGORY OF FULL AND ALTERNATE MEMBERS OF THE
13th CENTRAL COMMITTEE

<u>Category</u>	<u>Full</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Alternate</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>
Central party	17	9.7	2	1.8	19	6.7
Central government	55	31.4	28	25.5	83	29.1
Provincial and below	67 ^{1/}	38.3	47	42.7	114	40.0
party	40	22.9	30	27.3	70	24.6
government	24	13.7	17	15.5	41	14.4
local	9	5.1	11	10.0	20	7.0
Military	29	16.6	23 ^{2/}	20.0	52	18.2
central	10	5.7	9	8.1	19	6.7
regional	19	10.9	13	11.8	32	11.2
line/staff	19	10.9	20	18.2	39	13.7
political	10	5.7	2	1.8	12	4.2
Other	7	4.0	10	9.1	17	6.0

1/ Three officials hold both the top party and the top government job and hence were not counted under either category: Jiang Zemin in Shanghai, Li Ruihuan in Tianjin, and Xue Ju in Zhejiang.

2/ One PLA officer is unidentified by position.

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Table 7. CENTRAL ADVISORY COMMISSION, NOVEMBER 1987

* = on previous commission

Chairman Chen YunVice Chairmen *Bo Yibo
*Song RenqiongStanding Committee Members

*Bo Yibo	*Li Yimang
Chen Pixian	*Liu Lantao
*Chen Xilian	*Lu Dingyi
Chen Yun	*Song Renqiong
*Cheng Zihua	*Song Shilun
*Duan Junyi	*Wang Ping
*Geng Biao	*Wang Shoudao
Hu Qiaomu	*Wu Xiuquan
*Huang Zhen	*Xiao Ke
*Ji Pengfei	Yang Dezhi
*Jiang Hua	Yu Qiuli
*Kang Shi'en	Zhang Aiping
*Li Desheng	Zhang Jingfu

Members

An Pingsheng	Chi Biqing
An Zhiwen	Cui Yueli
*Bai Dongcai	Dai Suli
*Bai Rubing	Deng Liqun
*Bo Yibo	*Du Ping
*Cao Lihuai	*Du Runsheng
*Cao Ying	*Du Xingyuan
*Chang Lifu	*Du Yide
Chen Bin	Duan Junyi
*Chen Guodong	*Fang Qiang
Chen Lei	*Feng Jixin
Chen Pixian	*Feng Wenbin
Chen Puru	*Fu Chongbi
Chen Renhong	*Gao Houliang
*Chen Weida	*Gao Yang
*Chen Xilian	*Geng Biao
*Chen Yeping	*Gu Zhuoxin
Chen Yun	*Guo Feng
*Cheng Shicai	*Guo Hongtao
*Cheng Zihua	*Han Nianlong

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*Han Ningfu	*Liu Zhijian
Han Tianshi	*Liu Zhuanlian
*He Biao	*Lu Dadong
*He Jiannian	Lu Dong
Hu Lijiao	*Lu Dingyi
Hu Qiaomu	*Luo Guibo
Huang Hua	Luo Qingchang
Huang Luobin	*Luo Yuchuan
*Huang Xinting	*Ma Guorui
*Huang Zhen	Ma Xingyuan
*Hui Yuyu	*Mei Yi
*Huo Shilian	Mu Qing
*Ji Pengfei	*Nie Fengzhi
*Jiang Hua	*Ouyang Shan
*Jiang Nanxiang	*Peng Deqing
*Jiang Weiqing	*Peng Jiaqing
*Jiang Yizhen	*Qian Xinzhou
Jiang Yonghui	Qiang Xiaochu
Jiao Ruoyu	Qiao Xiaoguang
*Jin Ming	Qin Yingji
Kang Shi'en	*Rao Shoukun
*Kong Shiquan	*Ren Zhibin
*Kuang Fuzhao	*Ren Zhongyi
*Li Baohua	*Rong Gaotang
*Li Chang	*Song Li
Li Dengying	*Song Renqiong
*Li Desheng	*Song Shilun
Li Dongye	Su Yiran
*Li Fengping	*Sun Daguang
*Li Huamin	*Tan Qilong
Li Lian	*Tan Shanhe
*Li Qiming	*Tan Youlin
Li Qingwei	*Tian Bao
*Li Rui	Tie Ying
Li Yaowen	*Ting Mao
*Li Yimang	Wan Haifeng
*Li Yuncheng	Wang Chenghan
*Liang Biye	*Wang Congwu
*Liao Zhigao	Wang Daohan
*Lin Hujia	*Wang Dongxing
*Liu Daosheng	Wang Fang
*Liu Fuzhi	*Wang Feng
*Liu Huaqing	Wang Heshou
*Liu Jianzhang	*Wang Lei
*Liu Jie	Wang Lin
*Liu Jingfan	*Wang Liusheng
*Liu Lantao	*Wang Ping
*Liu Minghui	*Wang Qian
*Liu Tianfu	*Wang Shitai
*Liu Zhen	*Wang Shoudao

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*Wang Yiping	*Yuan Shengping
*Wang Youping	*Zeng Sheng
*Wang Zigang	*Zeng Zhi (f)
Wei Chunshu	Zhang Aiping
*Wen Minsheng	*Zhang Bangying
*Wu De	*Zhang Caiqian
*Wu Fushan	*Zhang Ce
*Wu Heng	*Zhang Dazhi
*Wu Xiuquan	*Zhang Guangnian
*Xia Shihou	Zhang Jingfu
Xiang Nan	Zhang Shuguang
Xiang Shouzhi	*Zhang Tingfa
*Xiao Ke	*Zhang Xiushan
*Xiao Quanfu	*Zhang Zhen
*Xiao Wangdong	*Zhang Zhixiu
*Xie Zhenhua	*Zhao Cangbi
*Xu Jiatush	*Zhao Jianmin
Xu Xin	*Zhao Wucheng
*Yan Dakai	*Zhao Xinchu
Yan Zheng	*Zheng Tianxiang
Yang Dezhi	*Zheng Weishan
*Yang Xiushan	*Zhong Ziyun
Yang Yichen	Zhou Hui
*Yang Wentao	Zhou Jiannan
You Taizhong	*Zhou Lin
*Yu Guangyuan	*Zhou Renjie
Yu Mingtao	Zhou Shizhong
Yu Qiuli	Zhou Zijian
Yuan Baohua	*Zhu Muzhi
	Zhu Yunqian

Dropped From Central Advisory Commission

Chen Zaidao	Rao Bin
Deng Xiaoping	Shu Tong
Du Yide	Song Kanfu
Gao Kelin	Wang Xinting
Guo Linxiang	Wang Zhen
Guo Shushen	Wei Jinshui
Hong Xuezhi	Wu Xinyu
Huang Huoqing	Xia Zhengnong
Kong Yuan	Xia Zhixu
Li Jianzhen	Yan Kuiyao
Li Jukui	Zeng San
Li Qiang	Zhang Jiafu
Li Xuefeng	Zhang Pinghua
Li Zhimin	Zhang Yun
Liu Shunyuan	Zhao Lin
Lu Zhengcao	Zhao Shouyi
Ping Jiesan	Zhou Yimin

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Table 8. CENTRAL DISCIPLINE INSPECTION COMMISSION, NOVEMBER 1987

* = on previous committee

Secretary Qiao ShiDeputy Secretaries Chen Zuolin (Secretary on previous committee)
Li Zhengting
Xiao HongdaStanding Committee Members

*Chen Zuolin
*Fu Jie
Guo Linxiang
*Li Zhengting

*Liu Liying
Qiao Shi
*Wang Deying
*Xiao Hongda

Members

*Bai Shi
Basang
Cao Keming
Cao Pengsheng
Cao Qingze
*Chen Dazhi
Chen Fawen
*Chen Zuolin
Ding Fengying (f)
Dong Fanyuan (f)
Duo Ba
Feng Zhimao
*Fu Jie
Gao Zi
Geroltu
*Gu Yunfei
Guo Linxiang
*Hou Ying
Huang Jishu
Jia Jun
Li Chunting
*Li Deming
Li Farong
Li Huanzheng
*Li Zhengting
Lin Kaiqin
*Lin Yinghai
*Liu Hanzhen
*Liu Liying (f)

Liu Youfa
Lu Feng
Lu Shaotang
Luo Jinxin
*Luo Yuntong
Ma Qixin
Ma Tiejun
Meng Zhiyuan
Peng Gang (f)
Peng Peiyun (f)
Qi Zhongtang
Qiao Shi
Shi Geng
*Sun Tonghui (f)
*Wang Deying
Wang Weicheng
*Wang Wenfeng
*Wang Xiaoguang
Wang Yanchang
Wang Zhanchang
Wang Zongchun
*Wei Chengdong
Wu Changyou
Xiang Hua (f)
*Xiao Hongda
*Xie Yong
Xu Mingzhen
Xu Qing
Xu Wenbo

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Xun Youming	Zhang Ming
Yang Minzhi	Zhang Xudeng
*Yun Shiying	*Zhao Baoxing
Zhang Boxiang	Zhao Xingyuan
Zhang Dinghua	Zhu Zhihong
*Zhang Dinghong	

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Amudun Niyaz	Liu Hedong
Bai Zhimin	Liu Jiadong
Bao Yushan	Liu Kun
Cao Guanqun	Liu Mingjiu
Cao Siming	Liu Xinquan
Chen Rulong	Liu Zide
Chen Yun	Pang Ran
Cui Jian	Peng Qingyun
Di Zicai	Pu Anxiu
Doje Cering	Qi Yuanjing
Fan Chaoli	Qiang Xiaochu
Gao Jun	Qiao Qing
Guo Chunyuan	Ren Zhiheng
Han Guang	Shan Yinzhang
Han Shuanqing	Sho Jingwa
Han Tianshi	Shi Min
Huang Kai	Shi Shengrong
Huang Liqiang	Shi Xinshan
Huang Naiyi	Song Cheng
HUANG Zhong	Song Jiehan
Jian Xianfo	Tan Kaiyun
Jiao Ruoyu	Tsodanov
Jiao Shanmin	Wang Bingxiang
Jin Feng	Wang Fuqing
Jin Shi	Wang Heshou
Kang Di	Wang Tie
Li Jian	Wang Yan
Li Jianmin	Wang Youxin
Li Junyan	Wang Yufu
Li Ke	Wang Zhanping
Li Mancun	Wang Zhongyin
Li Tao	Wang Zonghuai
Li Xingwang	Wen Li
Li Yuan	Wen Zhengyi
Li Zhenhai	Wu Jingchun (f)
Li Zhilian	Xiao Xuanjin
Li Zhuang	Xie Bangzhi
Liang Maocheng	Xu Mengxia
Lin Xiao	Xu Qixiao

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Xue Fengxiao
Xue Tan
Yan Youmin
Yang Jue
Yang Ke
Yang Xilin
Yang Youzhen
Yang Yunyu (f)
Yang Ziqian
Yu Dajia
Yu Jianting
Yu Shusheng
Zeng Fanmao

Zhan Danan
Zhang Chuandong
Zhang Kai
Zhang Lin
Zhang Lixing
Zhang Mao
Zhang Shaohua
Zhang Shun
Zhao Fulin
Zhao Qiyang
Zhao Zhongde
Zhou Yanguang
Zou Yan